CHAPTER 6

Resilient Resistance: Colonial Biblical, Archaeological and Ethnographical Imaginaries in the Work of Chalil Raad (Khalīl Raʿd), 1891–1948

Rona Sela

Chalil Raad[1] was one of the most important Arab photographers in the Middle East, beginning in the late nineteenth century, and one of the first – if not *the* first – active in Palestine (Fig. 6.1). Though born in Lebanon, Raad lived in Palestine for seven decades, was professionally active, mainly in it, for six, and created a significant and impressive oeuvre. He photographed the everyday life of the locals, mainly indigenous Palestinian urban and rural landscapes, social/family scenes, and portraits in the studio or in the public sphere, in a staged, semi-staged or documentary manner, for commercial and

1 I write Raad's personal name with a C (Chalil), although the correct transliteration is Khalīl, and his family name Raad, although the correct transliteration is Ra'd. I believe the name should be rendered according to the person's choice, and this is usually my policy with all languages Figs 6.1, 6.3, 6.5, 6.6, 6.8–10, 6.18. The information on Chalil Raad comes from the following sources: Yeshayahu Nir, *Beyerushlayim Ubeerets-Israel Be'kvot Tslamim Rishonim* (Tel Aviv: IDF Publishing House, 1986); Dan Kyram, "Hatslamim Harishonim Ṿeavodatam," *Ariel* 66–67 (1990): 153–4; Ellie Shiler, "Nofei Erets-Israel Be'inei Hatsalamim Harishonim," *Ariel* 66–67 (1989): 17–23; Ellie Shiler and Menahem Levin, "Albomaṿ Hayedu'im Shel Khalil Ra'ad," *Ariel* 68–70 (1990): 216–9; a biographical list 'obtained by Fouad C. Debbas from Raad's daughter (Ruth-R.S.). I received from Fouad in December 1988 in Paris' (National Library, Warman Collection, Raad File. All quotes by Ruth are from this letter); the author's talks with Debbas during 1999; Rona Sela, *Tsilum Befalastin/Erets-Israel Bishnot Hashloshim Vea'arba'im* (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad Publishing House and Herzliya Museum, 2000), 163–176, https://www.academia.edu/36679969/In_the_Eyes_of_the_Beholder-_Aspects_of_Early_Palestinian_Photography; Badr Al-Hajj, "Khalil Raad – Jerusalem Photographer," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 11–12 (2001): 34–9; Issam Nassar, *Laqatat Mughayira: al-Taswir al-Futugrafi al-Mubakir fi Filastin* (Beirut and Ramallah: Kutub and Qattan Foundation, 2005); Rona Sela, *Chalil Raad – Tatslumim, 1891–1948* (Tel Aviv: Helena, 2010); a long correspondence with George Raad from 2005–2010; Salim Tamari, "The War Photography of Khalil Raad," in *Palestine Before 1948, Not Just Memory, Khalil Raad (1854–1957)*, ed. Vera Tamari (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2013), 17–25; Vera Tamari, "Khalil Raad (1854–1957) – Palestine's Pioneer Photographer," in *Palestine Before 1948, Not Just Memory, Khalil Raad (1854–1957)*, ed. Vera Tamari (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2013), 7–11; Institute for Palestine Studies (IPS), "Palestinian Photographers before 1948: Documenting Life in a Time of Change," *Palestinian Journeys*, accessed September 8, 2019.

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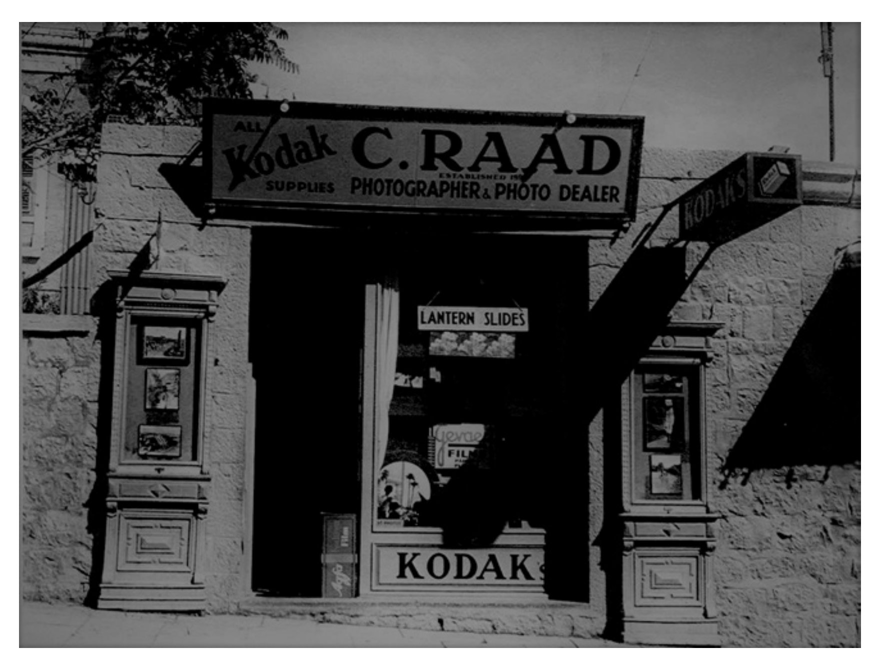


FIGURE 6.1 *The store of Raad in Jaffa St Jerusalem*, 1930s.
PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN

other purposes. He was also active in military and ethnographic photography and was apparently the first Arab and local archaeological photographer in Palestine.[2] Simultaneously, he travelled around the Middle East, giving expression to Arab life in a period of reorganisation and reform, the *Tanzimat* (the massive restructuring of the Ottoman Empire) and *al-Nahda* (awakening or renaissance), reflecting 'the afterimage of modernity.'[3]

By the turn of the century, other Arab photographers had also become active in major Palestinian cities, including figures such as photographers from the Bāsil and Buwarshī families[4] and Zakariyyā Abū Fahīla (1885–1951)[5] in

2 American Colony photographers also documented excavations in Palestine (Edna Barromi-Perlman, "Archaeology, Zionism, and Photography in Palestine. Analysis of the Use of Dimensions of People in Photographs," *Journal of Landscape Ecology* 10, no. 3 (2017): 49), though these were foreigners who had moved to Jerusalem and started to photograph archaeology long after Raad.

3 Stephen Sheehi, "The Nahḍa After-Image," *Third Text* 26, no. 4 (2012): 409.

4 Mitri Al-Raheb, "Karimeh Abbud: Almrah Khlf Al'dsa," in *Karimeh Abbud*, eds. Mitri Al-Raheb, Ahmad Marwat and Issam Nassar (Bethlehem: Diyar, 2011), 49.

5 Institute for Palestine Studies, "Palestinian Photographers before 1948."

Bethlehem, Nāṣir Sābā[6] in Nazareth and Dāwūd Sabūnjī and ʿIsā Sawabīnī in Jaffa.[7] European and American photographers also began operating in Palestine and the wider region during the second half of the nineteenth century, linked to colonial interests and significantly shaping the way the land and its populations were presented and represented.[8] Armenians were also among the first photographers to work in Palestine, influencing the local scene through the unique contributions of, for instance, Patriarch Issay Garabedian, who established a workshop at St James Monastery in the 1850s, and his students Kevork,[9] Garabed Krikorian, J.H. Halladjian (in Jerusalem and Haifa), H. Mardikian and Josef Toumayan.[10]

In 2000, Raad's work was exhibited for the first time as part of a group show dedicated to the history of Palestinian photography,[11] followed by a 2010 solo exhibition accompanied by a monograph.[12] Chalil Raad had marketed his work extensively and left a comprehensive, well-catalogued archive.[13] These

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6 He opened a photography store in 1897; Susan Slyomovics, "Edward Said's Nazareth," *Framework: The Journal of Cinema and Media* 50, nos. 1/2 (2009): 42.

7 Sabounji, a Christian, had been active in Beirut since 1863, moved to Jaffa in 1892 and was the first Arab photographer to operate there; Nir, *Beyerushlayim Ubeerets-Israel*, 99, 225. He was the brother of the photographers Louis and Jurji Sabounji; the latter had a studio in Beirut and was the 'first 'Arab' studio owner', see Stephen Sheehi, *The Arab Imago: A Social History of Portrait Photography, 1860–1910* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 29. Issa Sawabini was active in Jaffa around 1912 and opened a studio in Ajami neighbourhood; *The Palestine Directory* 1920, 193.

8 Nir, *Beyerushlayim Ubeerets-Israel*; Nissan Perez, *Focus East, Early Photography in the Near East 1839–1885* (New York: Harry H. Abrams, Inc. Publishers, 1988); Kyram, "Hatslamim Harishonim Ṿeavodatam"; Shiller, "Nofei Erets-Israel Be'inei Hatsalamim Harishonim," 17–23; Kathleen Stewart Howe, *Revealing the Holy Land: The Photographic Exploration of Palestine* (Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Museum of Art, 1997); Issam Nassar, "'Biblification' in the Service of Colonialism. Jerusalem in Nineteenth-century Photography," *Third Text* (2007): 317–326; Sela, *Tsilum Befalastin*, 19–23; Sela, *Khalil Raad*, 19–34; Andrea Merli, "A New Art in an Ancient Land: Palestine through the lens of early European Photographers," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 50 (2012): 23–36.

9 First name is unknown.

10 'J. Toumayan, Bab-el-Jjeddid [New Gate-R.S.] … Artistic Photographer, Best Finished Photos of All Sizes and Styles, taken in Native Costumes'; *The Palestine Directory* 1920, 193. He had a store in Suliman Street in Jerusalem; *Sefer Hareshimot Lemishar Ṿet'asiyah, Sefer Haktovot*, 1936, 33.

The Greek photographer Miltiades Savvidès, started working in Jerusalem at the end of the nineteenth century and later also in Ajami (Jaffa); *Palestine Directory* 1920, 193.

11 Sela, *Tsilum Befalastin*.

12 Sela, *Khalil Raad*.

13 Chalil Raad and John Krikorian, *1930 Catalogue of Lantern Slides and Views made by C. Raad & J. Krikorian of Sites, Scenes, Ceremonies, Costumes, etc. of Palestine & Syria Identical with Bible History, C. Raad & J. Krikorian Photographers. Jerusalem, Palestine* (Jerusalem: The

have enabled me to deepen study of various aspects of his work, including the subjects on which he focused, how he catalogued and captioned his images, how he promoted his work and, in particular, to shed light on the complexity faced by indigenous photographers during this vibrant period. This article aims to augment discussion around the dilemmas that Raad himself likely faced from the outset of his professional career, in view of his central role in the Palestinian community, the winds of modernity (*al-Nahda*), the Western colonialist tendencies in the region and subsequently the Zionist settlement and British occupation of Palestine.[14] Particular attention is paid here to examining Raad's response as a local Arab photographer to Biblical, Holy Land and archaeological/ethnographical 'imaginative geographies of Orientalism'[15] imposed by foreign and Zionist visual mediators.

From the nineteenth century onwards, the Palestinian presence in the region was concealed or misrepresented by colonialist representations and 'seizure of narratives',[16] a process of elimination from Westerner's and Zionist's consciousness. Furthermore, since 1930s, and especially since the *Nakba* (1948), Palestinian archives and material were seized or looted by Jewish and Israeli forces and individuals and deleted from the public sphere by the Israeli colonial regime of knowledge by additional means.[17] Other resources were lost or damaged and subsequent wars between Israel and Arab states and the Palestinians. While Palestinians are still fighting to regain their missing archives

Commercial Press, 1930; Fig. 6.8); Chalil Raad, *1933 Catalogue of Lantern Slides and Views made by C. Raad Photographer of Sites, Scenes, Ceremonies, Costumes, Etc. Etc., of Palestine & Syria Identical with Bible. History* (Jerusalem: Beyt-Ul-Makdes Press, 1933; Figs 6.9 and 6.10).

14 Sela, *Tsilum Befalastin*, 163–176; Rona Sela, "Historiya Metsulemet Shel Falastine," *Teoriya Ubikoret* 31 (2007): 302–10; Sela, *Khalil Raad*, 19–47.

15 Derek Gregory, "Emperors of the Gaze: Photographic Practices and Productions of Space in Egypt, 1839–1914," in *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination*, eds. Joan Schwartz and James Ryan (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003), 224.

16 Borrowed from Fekri Hassan, "Imperialist Appropriations of Egyptian Obelisks," in *Views of Ancient Egypt since Napoleon Bonaparte: Imperialism, Colonialism and Modern Appropriations*, ed. David Jeffreys (London: Cavendish, 2003), 19–68.

17 Walid Khalidi, *Before Their Diaspora, A Photographic History of the Palestinians 1876–1948* (Washington D.C.: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1991); Sela, *Tsilum Befalastin*, 24–37; Rona Sela. *Le'iyun Hatsibur – Tslumeu Falastinim Ba'rchiyonim Hatsva'yim Beisrael* (Tel Aviv: Helena and Minshar Gallery, 2009); Rona Sela, "Genealogy of Colonial Plunder and Erasure – Israel's Control over Palestinian Archives," *Social Semiotics* 28, no. 2 (2018): 201–29; Rona Sela, *Limu'ayanh al-Jamhur-al-falasṭiniwn fy al-A'rshifat al-'skariyyah al-I'sra'iliyyah* (Ramallah: Madar Center, 2018); Rona Sela, "'Imprisoned Photographs': The Looted Archive of Photo Rissas (Rassas) – Ibrahim and Chalil (Khalil) Rissas," *INTERMÉDIAL* 32 (2018).



FIGURE 6.2
Chalil Raad and Annie Muller in their Wedding Day, 1919.
PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN

and collect fragments from their past, fighting against 'archival absence' (evidence or materials)[18] and write their 'history without documents',[19] Raad's archive reveals the very destructiveness of colonialism. At the same time, it enables us to shed light on 'archival imaginaries … archives both shadow and real, and conditions both intellectual and material'.[20]

18 Ali Behdad, *Camera Orientalis: Reflections on Photography of the Middle East* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2016).
19 Omnia El-Shakry, "'History without Documents': The Vexed Archives of Decolonization in the Middle East," *American Historical Review* 120, no. 3 (2015): 920–934.
20 Ibid., 934.

1 Biography

Chalil Raad was born in Lebanon in 1869.[21] After the death of his father, Anīs, Raad was sent to study in Jerusalem at a school managed by Bishop Gobat. There, he learnt the art of photography from the local Armenian photographer Garabed Krikorian, travelling in 1890 to study in Basel (following his high school teacher from Basel who came to Jerusalem to study Arabic for his doctoral dissertation) where he met his future wife, Annie Muller. Due to the difficulties of WWI, Muller moved to Jerusalem only in 1919, and the two married (Fig. 6.2). At first, the family lived in the upscale Talbiyya neighbourhood and became deeply involved in local community life; in 1941 (Fig. 6.3) they moved to the Greek Colony.

Raad began working independently in 1891, opening his own studio by 1895 (Fig. 6.4).[22] In 1899, he ran an advertisement in the Hebrew newspaper *Hahavatselet* to market his work also to the Jewish community: 'Let it now be known and announced that whoever seeks photographic pictures of all kinds, at the finest quality and for an affordable price, is welcome to contact me […] ! Chalil Raad. My workshop is located outside the [old] city [of Jerusalem], near Hotel Howard,[23] at the bookbinder Rabbi Leib Kahana of Safed (Fig. 6.5)."[24] In the early 1910s, Raad was appointed Prussian Court Photographer, a post which gave him diplomatic immunity and most likely

21 In determining Raad's year of birth, I relied on Ruth Raad's records, according to which her father married in 1919 at age fifty, information that is consistent with George Raad's estimation that his father was born between 1865 and 1870 (emails from George to the author, November 10, 2005; November 17, 2008). Al-Hajj, "Khalil Raad – Jerusalem Photographer"; Tamari, "Khalil Raad (1854–1957)," 7–13; and Akram Zaatari (correspondence from September 1, 2017 and December 4, 2017) claim that Raad was born in 1854 and that his father died in 1860. However, according to Ruth, it is probable that his father was poisoned (the year is not indicated) and that his grandfather died in 1860.

22 'Raad, P. [probably photographer], Established 1895' (*Sefer Hareshimott*, 1936, 34). The studio was also listed in the *1920 Palestine Directory* (no editor, 193).

23 Opened in 1891, the hotel later changed its name to 'Du Park', and in 1907 to 'Fast' (David Kroyanker, *Rehḥov Yafo Beyerushalyim* (Jerusalem: Jerusalem Institute for Israeli Research and Keter Publishing House, 2005, 30, 158, 359).

24 No editor, *Hahavatselet*, July 24, 1899, 320 (translated from Hebrew). Raad placed an additional advertisement in another Hebrew newspaper, *Hashkafa*: 'I hereby present my workshop to the distinguished public, which does not offer the cheapest, but certainly does offer the best quality […]. This I can guarantee, because the pictures will remain intact for a long time […] Note well the name C. Raad. Every day I receive thank-you letters for work well done, particularly from people of European descent' (Translated from Hebrew, no editor, June 8, 1906, 7). I have not found yet advertisements by Raad in Arabic newspapers in Palestine.



FIGURE 6.3 *Raad Family*, 1932. From left to right: Chalil, George, Ruth and Annie
UNKNOWN PHOTOGRAPHER

פיטו־ספורט, ע״י הציטדל
צלמניה מודרני אמנותית
ש. מדר, רח׳ יפו, מול „אגד״
„קודק״
סטודיה לצלום פרמננט.
פתוח והדפסת מעולים.
ז׳ק סלומון.
דרך יפו, בנין המלון פסט, ת. ד. 1037
קפלן, ה. רחוב בן־יהודה
קרפ־סטודיו, רח׳ המלך ג׳ורג׳
ראאד, צ. נוסד 1895
רחוב יפו מול מלון פסט
פוטו סטודיו וצרכי צלום מכל המינים
רדיופין, מ. בריל
רחוב בן־יהודה, בית אוסטר
שמאי, האחים, רחוב סט. לואיס

הוצאת תמונות

אליהו, האחים
(ראה תל־אביב)
צלמים אמנותיים של המושבה האמריקאית
שער יפו

צמר גפן

אלברט, ב. את מ. זרובינסקי
ביח״ר לצמר גפן, רח׳ מאה שערים

FIGURE 6.4
Raad, P. [probably photographer], Established 1895' (*Sefer Hareshimott*, 1936, 34)

enabled him to travel freely (Fig. 6.6).[25] The fact that he spoke Arabic, English, German and Turkish was instrumental in this regard. Raad also acted as an official Ottoman photographer, producing portraits of military officers preparing for battle[26] and other local facets of the war. Raad's partnership with the Jewish bookbinder probably ended sometimes in the early twentieth century.[27]

Raad's studio was located next to that of the Greek photographer Militad Savvidès, and in front of Krikorian's studio (Fig. 6.7), in what can be identified as the first Palestinian visual centre. Until WWI, Raad was in professional competition with Garabed Krikorian, a contest that transformed into collaboration in 1917 after Garabed's son, John, returned to Jerusalem from his studies (1913 or 1914) and married Raad's niece, Najla.[28] John Krikorian primarily photographed portraits in the studio, while Raad toured the region and documented landscapes, people and events.[29] Raad and Krikorian published a textual catalogue of their work in 1930,[30] most likely to garner interest from buyers worldwide (Fig. 6.8). The partnership appears to have ended by 1933, when Raad published a similar textual catalogue bearing only his name, (Figs 6.9 and 6.10),[31] which he used to sell images from the 1287 photographs of his Holy Land collection.[32] Raad was also active in the local community, including in philanthropy. On 12th December 1939, for example, he hosted in his studio a display of embroidered dresses sown by the Women's Club

25 His 1914 stationary carries the logo 'C. Raad, Kgl. [Royal] Preusischer Photograph' (Central Zionist Archive, KKL3/29, July 13, 1914).

26 These images are mentioned in Raad, *1933 Catalogue*, 35–6 and Sela, *Khalil Raad*, 244–35, and located in the Middle East Centre Archive in Oxford: https://brill.com/fileasset/downloads_products/31858_Guide.pdf (correspondence, January-March 2010).

27 In 1920 and 1921, he publicised his studio, at the same location without mentioning the rabbi's name: *Kol Yerushalayim Lishnat TRPA* (1921, a Hebrew almanac); *Sefer Shimushi, Sefer Yedi'ot, Sefer Adresa'ot* (Jerusalem: Levy, 1921); *The Palestine Directory* 1920, 193.

28 Who moved to Jerusalem from Lebanon with her mother Sarah and grandmother Saada.

29 Al-Hajj, "Khalil Raad – Jerusalem Photographer," 37–8. Ruth Raad wrote that her father also liked drawing, though hitherto, none of his drawings have been discovered. It is possible that he drew the logo stitched on the back of his photographs (Sela, *Khalil Raad*, 256).

30 Raad and Krikorian, *1930 Catalogue*. Perhaps earlier catalogues were also published.

31 Raad, *1933 Catalogue*. Comparison between the catalogue of 1930 (when Krikorian and Raad worked together) and the Catalogue of Raad from 1933, suggests that the images Krikorian photographed during their partnership (mainly portraits?) remained in Raad's possession and were distributed as Raad's images.

32 Al-Hajj mentions 1,230 photographs (Al-Hajj, "Khalil Raad – Jerusalem Photographer"). In the visual albums, the highest number is 1151. The photographs in the albums and textual lists are organised thematically. Raad did not date his images. Therefore, it is impossible to analyse his work chronologically.



לידע להודיע ולהודע

החפץ לעשות תמונות פאטאגראפיות מכל המינים שהוא,
בתכלית ההדור ובמחיר השוה לכל נפש יפנה אלי הח"מ, ונכון הנני
בכל עת למלאות רצון כל שוחרי על צד היותר טוב!

CHALIL RAAD חאליל ראאד

בית מלאכתי מחוץ לעיר סמוך להאָטעל האָוואַרד אצל
הכורך ספרים ר' ליב כהנא מצפת.

FIGURE 6.5 'Let it now be known and announced that whoever seeks photographic pictures of all kinds, at the finest quality and for an affordable price, is welcome to contact me [...] ! Chalil Raad. My workshop is located outside the [old] city [of Jerusalem], near Hotel Howard at the bookbinder Rabbi Leib Kahana of Safed'. *Hahavatselet*, 24th July, 1899, 320 (translated from Hebrew)

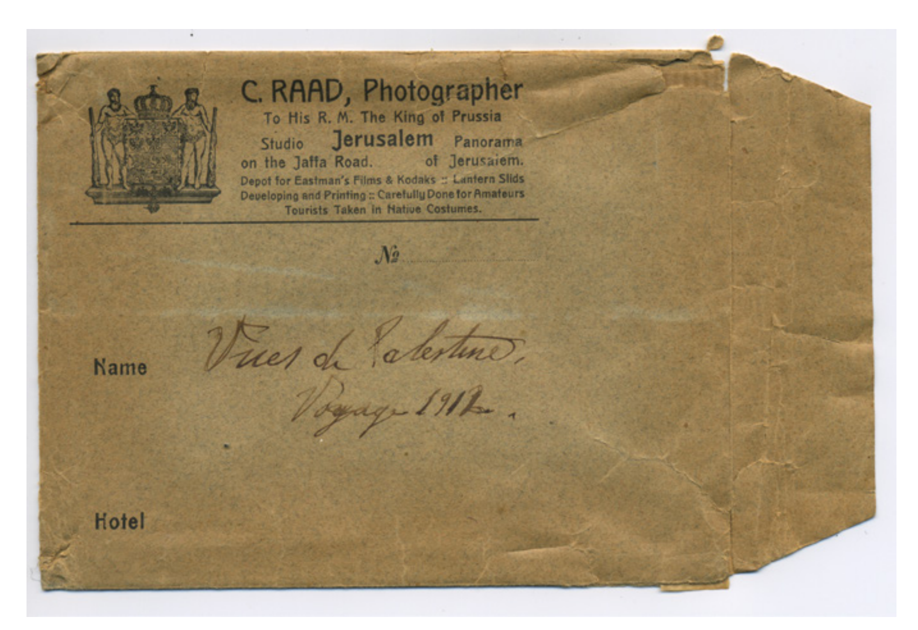


FIGURE 6.6 *An envelope (for film negative) with stamp of Prussian Court Photographer.* COURTESY OF NATIONAL LIBRARY, JERUSALEM



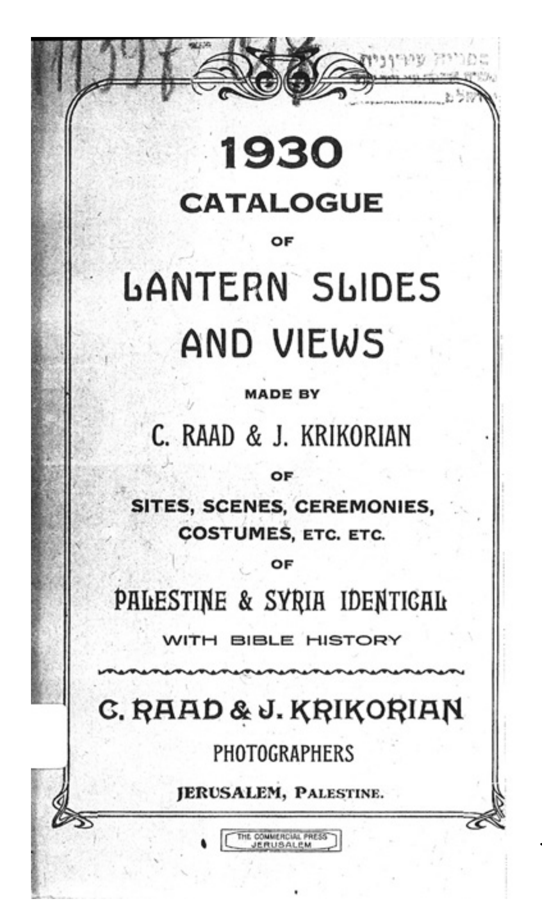
FIGURE 6.7 *Jaffa Street, Jerusalem*, 1898–1914. On the right side Raad's and Savides' stores. On the left side, Krikorians' store, American Colony Photography Department
IMAGE COURTESY OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

of Ramallah, using the proceeds to buy clothes for schoolchildren and the blind. He also directed a photography club at the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA).[33]

1.1 *Chalil Raad's Archive*

In April 1948, around one month before the end of the British Mandate in Palestine, Raad and his wife fled to Jericho. After being prevented from returning to their home (an ethnic cleansing strategy of the conquering forces), the couple were forced into exile in Lebanon. It was there that Raad died

33 *The Palestine Post*, December 12, 1939, 2; December 27, 1939 and December 19, 1936, 6. For information on the Photography Club, see *The Palestine Post*, October 5, 1938, 4.



1930
CATALOGUE
OF
LANTERN SLIDES
AND VIEWS
MADE BY
C. RAAD & J. KRIKORIAN
OF
SITES, SCENES, CEREMONIES,
COSTUMES, ETC. ETC.
OF
PALESTINE & SYRIA IDENTICAL
WITH BIBLE HISTORY

C. RAAD & J. KRIKORIAN
PHOTOGRAPHERS
JERUSALEM, PALESTINE.

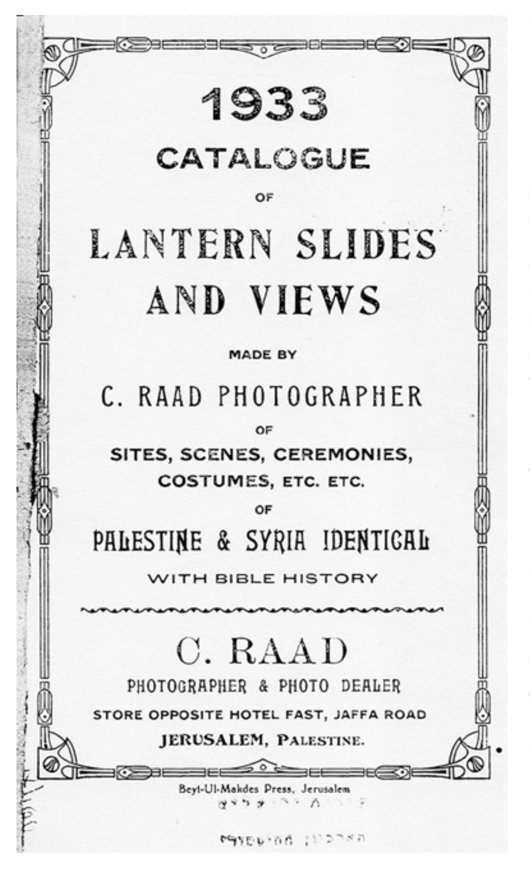
THE COMMERCIAL PRESS
JERUSALEM

FIGURE 6.8
Chalil Raad and John Krikorian, 1930. *Catalogue of Lantern Slides and Views made by C. Raad & J. Krikorian of Sites, Scenes, Ceremonies, Costumes, etc. of Palestine & Syria Identical with Bible History, C. Raad & J. Krikorian Photographers. Jerusalem, Palestine* (Jerusalem: The Commercial Press, 1930)

sometime between 1955 and 1957.[34] His studio was destroyed in the battles of 1948, with some of its contents looted by soldiers and civilians, others lost and some rescued by the family. In a partly destroyed area – 'abandoned' in Zionist-colonialist terminology that erases, camouflages or reinterprets evidence which contradicts the Israeli narrative – Zionist soldiers 'found' albums scattered on the floor of Chalil Raad's studio. 'Only the albums remained, because nobody took any interest in them, apart from a young company commander … who was interested in the country's history. This is how this invaluable asset was saved.'[35] Another group of looted photographs by Raad,

34 George Raad dates his father's death to 1955, whereas both Ruth and Vera Tamari indicate that it was in 1957.

35 Shiler, "'Albomaṿ Hayedu'im," 217–19; Sela, *Tsilum Befalastin*, 166; Sela, *Khalil Raad*, 16. Being an Israeli, I was able to see the albums, like other seized/looted images stored in





FIGURES 6.9 AND 6.10 Chalil Raad, *1933 Catalogue of Lantern Slides and Views made by C. Raad Photographer of Sites, Scenes, Ceremonies, Costumes, Etc. Etc., of Palestine & Syria Identical with Bible History* (Jerusalem: Beyt-Ul-Makdes Press, 1933)

together with photographs by the Rissās (Rassās) Studio and American Colony Photographers, have lately been 'revealed' according to the Israeli newspaper *Haaretz*.[36] They were 'rescued' from a burning photography store in Jerusalem during the 1947–1949 War of 'Independence' by an Israeli commander named Moshe Carmel. The looting is described in euphemistic terms as a 'rescue' from

Israeli archives, if they were open, or if I succeeded after a fight to open them, while Palestinians face obstacles.

36 Nir Hasson, "Hundreds of Photos Found from When Israel's War of Independence Raged," *Haaretz*, December 9, 2018, https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/premium.MAGAZINE-hundreds-of-photos-found-from-when-the-1948-war-raged-1.6725444.

the flames, though in reality the photographs were stolen after the fire. The article in *Haaretz* declines to discuss why the photographs were not returned to their original owners and were instead 'donated' to an Israeli-Zionist institution, and why the archive of the institution catalogued the looters as the owners.[37]

The wartime pillage of Palestinian property by individuals was prohibited under international law,[38] but whether the pillaged items were given as gifts, sold to third parties or exchanged hands by other means, they were consistently used to glorify the looters in their social milieu, serving as 'trophies' or 'souvenirs' from the battlefield.[39] If they were sold or transferred to official state archives, they were managed, catalogued and interpreted according to a Zionist terminology, usually censored for many years, reflecting the newly established power hierarchy between looter and original owner, but most strongly the destruction of Palestinian culture.[40] When they remained in private hands – as have many archives pillaged by individuals for private gain – they were usually treated in a patronising or biased way, and their meaning is cleansed. Usually they are also closed to researchers, and thus erased from the public sphere. Raad's albums have not been subject to alteration by their Israeli owners and are preserved as Raad originally constructed them, organised according to subject. Among their contents, which also can be viewed in the textual catalogues,[41] is documentation of rural and urban areas in Palestine (landscapes, their inhabitants, familial scenes and documentation of everyday life with a focus on ethnographic aspects), Jerusalem and its surroundings as seen from various angles and aspects (religious, touristic, etc.), as well as archaeological excavations, maps and plans. A small portion of Raad's work is dedicated to Ottoman aspects of the First World War, Arab resistance to colonisation, cities and locations in the Middle East (such as Petra, Amman, Damascus and Sinai), and Jewish (pre-or Zionist) communities. Like the textual

37 Sela, "'Imprisoned Photographs'."

38 Ibid. I discuss separate seizure by state bodies (Sela, *Le'iyun Hatsibur*; Sela, "Genealogy of Colonial Plunder and Erasure"; Sela, *Limu'ayanh al-Jamhur-al-falasṭ̣iniwn*) and looting by individuals, Sela, "'Imprisoned Photographs'."

39 Sela, "'Imprisoned Photographs'."

40 Sela, "Genealogy of Colonial Plunder and Erasure."

41 Raad's albums, which I found (and viewed) after long research and many obstacles, are identical with the textual catalogues and with the way Raad's negatives are numbered. Since the albums are not open (yet), I published the entire 1933 textual catalogue of Raad for the benefit of future research in Sela, *Khalil Raad*, 227–255 (I first published the catalogue's cover and main contents in Sela, *Tsilum Befalastin*, 167). Raad's negatives (3000 in number) are open for research at the IPS.

catalogues, the albums served as a visual index of the photographer's work and appear to have been displayed in the store for potential clients. Each is composed of a large number of black cardboard pages onto which four to six of Raad's original photographs relating to a specific subject matter are glued. The images are accompanied by text (hand-written or machine typed) inscribed by Raad himself (Fig. 6.11).

Raad's negative archive, stored in the darkroom of a different building on Jaffa Street, was saved from looting. The building was located in an area between Jordan and Israel that was considered a no-man's land from the years after the 1948 war up until 1967. Ruth Raad and her husband Robert asked for the assistance of an Italian friend of Raad's, who worked in the bookstore of Būlus Saʿid inside Jaffa Gate. Despite the difficulties, he managed to enter the no-man's land after the armistice.[42] Ruth Raad donated the collection of around 3,000 negatives to the Institute for Palestine Studies (IPS).[43]

2 The Holy Land in Nineteenth Century Colonialist Photography

Chalil Raad began his photographic work during the last decade of the nineteenth century in an environment shaped by modern Arab[44] and Euro-American forces. The new medium of photography, which emerged in 1839, was 'exported' to the Middle East by many foreign photographers, developing a colonialist photographic language. Expeditions that included government and military officials, academic researchers and scientists, writers, religious institutions, and commercial bodies were sent to explore the region, with participating photographers and illustrators translating imperialist aspirations and Western interests in the Near East into visual language. The French government, for example, equipped various institutions of information gathering and knowledge production with the new photographic technology 'to further the project of academic Orientalism,'[45] as exemplified by the work of Frédéric Goupil-Fesquet in Egypt. John Cramb, the Scottish official photographer to

42 Al-Hajj, "Khalil Raad – Jerusalem Photographer."
43 Correspondence with the IPS, February 13, 2010.
44 Zeynep Çelik, "Photographing Mundane Modernity," in *Camera Ottomana: Photography and Modernity in the Ottoman Empire, 1840–1914*, eds. Zeynep Çelik and Edhem Eldem (Istanbul: Koç University Press, 2015), 154–200. See also Sheehi, *The Arab Imago*, xxv–xxix.
45 Ali Behdad, 'Mediated Visions: Early Photography of the Middle East and Orientalist Network,' *History of Photography* 41, no.4 (2017), 365.

the Queen, was also commissioned by Glasgow publisher William Collins to make a series of views of Biblical sites in Jerusalem, while Maxime Du Camp and Auguste Salzmann were sponsored on a mission by the French Ministry of Public Education.[46] The new art form remained consistent with Orientalist-iconographic tastes, encompassing a variety of imagery and representation, including panoramic landscapes and monuments, exotic scenes and archetypes, staged studio portraits, archaeological sites, close-ups of archaeological remains, and Biblical and deserted landscapes.

Multiple studies have examined the work of foreign photographers in the Middle East, including their contributions to European and American colonial projects in the region, through the prism of Said's theory of Orientalism. Where some emphasise the 'imperialist lens'[47] through which 'the camera captures and ultimately re-presents the monuments of the Orient … [and the] effacement of the native population',[48] others foreground 'imperialist appropriation',[49] with the images treated as 'mirrored photographs' of the 'imaginary or mental mould existing in the Westerner's mind'.[50] Similarly, Europeans have been described in related scholarship as 'emperors of the gaze' managing a 'scopic regime',[51] whereby photography was presented as a tool in the quest for knowledge. It framed the imperialistic perspective and served as 'a way to dominate the Orient',[52] while creating and assimilating the colonial gaze. In a period of rapid colonial expansion, early photography asserted human absence, depicting vast parts of the world as deserted, 'vacant spaces, empty cities and villages' or needing a *mission civilisatrice*.[53] The camera imbued Orientalism with scientific credibility and thereby functioned as a central pillar in the Orientalist framework. Mediating Western desires and fantasies, it gave photographers a set of conventions through which to structure Middle Eastern cultures for consumption by Western audiences.[54]

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46 Ibid., 366, 374.

47 Keri Berg, "The Imperialist Lens: Du Camp, Salzmann and Early French Photography," *Early Popular Visual Culture* 6, no. 1 (April 2008).

48 Ibid., 11.

49 Fekri Hassan, "Imperialist Appropriations of Egyptian Obelisks.".

50 Perez, *Focus East*, 50.

51 Gregory, "Emperors of the Gaze," 224–25.

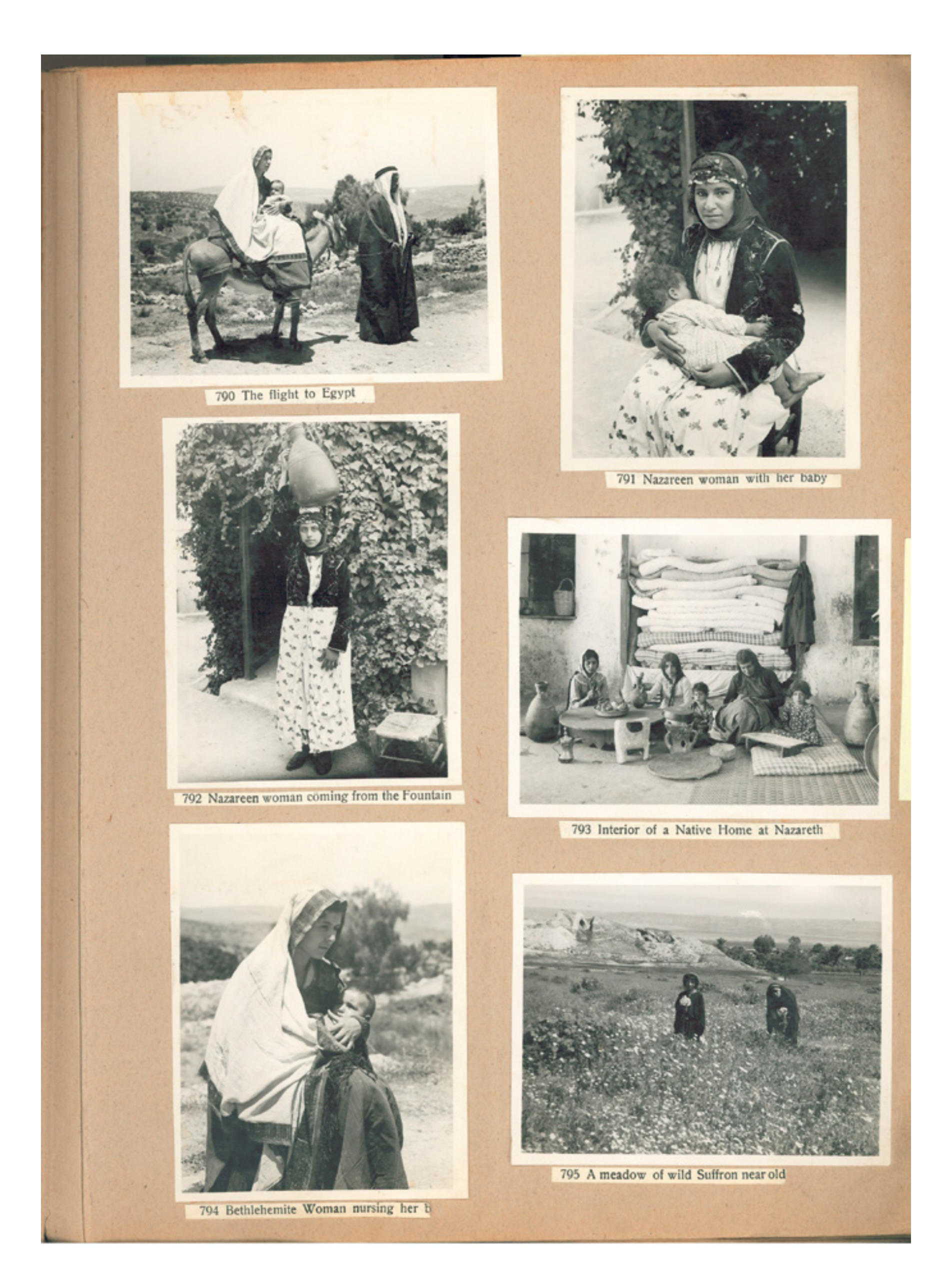
52 Berg, "The Imperialist Lens," 4.

53 Abigail Solomon-Godeau, "A Photographer in Jerusalem, 1855: Auguste Salzmann and his Times," in *Photography at the Dock*, ed. Abigail Solomon-Godeau (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), 159.

54 Behdad, *Camera Orientalis*. Behdad shows that Linda Nochlin was among the firsts to relate to the interpretation of Said's *Orientalism* in art, at the same time, discusses various researchers (mainly art-historians), criticised the use of Said's theory to apply equally to



FIGURE 6.11 AND FIGURE 6.12 *Pages from Raad's Albums*


790 The flight to Egypt
791 Nazareen woman with her baby
792 Nazareen woman coming from the Fountain
793 Interior of a Native Home at Nazareth
794 Bethlehemite Woman nursing her b
795 A meadow of wild Suffron near old

Furthermore, and while focusing on the Holy Land through colonial lenses, the imagination was 'double framed'; the Westerner was framed as having 'the ability to draw the people he sees as he wishes' while casting locals 'as subjects that could teach him the truth about the lives of Bible characters'.[55] As many studies show, this resulted in a 'bibliolatry',[56] or biblical ideology. The (American) 'visual culture surrounding the Holy Land',[57] for instance, depicted the 'authentic' experience grounded in a national identification with the concepts of a chosen people and a promised land,[58] while (British) 'Crusading mania'[59] reflected a longstanding religious-biblical impulse toward the Holy Land.[60] Rooted in the Bible's 'symbolic and spiritual significance',[61] such work documented Biblical sites, holy places and Oriental landscapes, foregrounding purportedly abandoned and empty locations while wilfully ignoring local inhabitants.[62] Through focusing on subjects associated with events in the Old and New Testaments (landscapes, ruins, ancient places, Biblical names, sites with religious-historical significance), it provided visual 'proof' that the Biblical world was preserved or frozen in time, and that the reality of the Holy Land was one of an underdeveloped and exploitable world.

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visual representation. Behdad, "Mediated Visions," 364–366. See also Michelle Woodward, "Between Orientalist Clichés and Images of Modernization," *History of Photography* 27, no. 4 (2003), 363; Zeynep Çelik, "Colonialism, Orientalism and the Canon," *Art Bulletin* 78 (1996): 202–205 and "vernacular Orientalism" as an opposition to Orientalism: Eitan Bar-Yosef, *The Holy Land in English Culture 1799–1917: Palestine and the Question of Orientalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 88.

55 Daniel Martin Varisco, "Orientalism and Bibliolatry. Framing the Holy Land in Nineteenth Century Protestant Bible Customs Texts," in *Orientalism Revisited: Art, Land and Voyage*, ed. Ian Richard Netton (London: Routledge, 2013), 190.

56 Ibid.

57 John Davis, *The Landscape of Belief: Encountering the Holy Land in Nineteenth-Century American Art and Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 27. On the influence of the biblical paradigm on the US since eighteenth century, see also Mark Finney, 'Christian Zionism, the US and the Middle East: A Sketch and Brief Analysis,' in *The Bible, Zionism and Palestine: The Bible's Role in Conflict and Liberation in Israel-Palestine*, ed. Michael Sandford (Dunedin, New Zealand: Relegere Academic Press, 2016), 21–23.

58 Davis, *The Landscape of Belie*, 27–72.

59 Bar-Yosef, *The Holy Land in English Culture*, 246.

60 Ibid. Bar-Yosef and John Davis relate to visual/popular means.

61 Paolo Maggiolini, "Studies and Souvenirs of Palestine and Transjordan: the Revival of the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem and the Rediscovery of the Holy Land during the Nineteenth Century," in *Orientalism, Revisited Art, Land and Voyage*, ed. Ian Richard Netton (London: Routledge, 2013), 165–175.

62 Solomon-Godeau, "A Photographer in Jerusalem," 159.

Research confirms that only a small number of local people had in fact been photographed since the beginning of photography in Palestine.[63] Among the few examples are images by the French Bonfils family, who opened a studio in Beirut (active, 1867–1918).[64] The minority of local inhabitants who were photographed were often presented as undeveloped or as Biblical characters.[65] Images from the (same) Bonfils studio, for example, depict a Palestinian boy and girl in a wheat field described as 'Boaz Field, Biblical Scene'.[66] Configurations such as this were repeated across photobooks and illustrations. Similarly, photographs of individuals and sites were often 'adorned' by Biblical verses or references to Biblical events. With such images in high demand, this approach was also employed by foreign photographers living in Palestine, including American Colony photographers. The local Palestinian population was thus designated the function of preserving ancient Biblical life; they were not seen, but served as mere figments of a colonialist imagination.[67] In turn, the activities of the imperialist came to reflect 'layer upon layer of interests, official learning, institutional pressure that covered the Orient as a subject matter and as a territory during the late half of the nineteenth century'.[68]

Early twentieth century Zionist propaganda made similar use of the Biblical imagery developed by Orientalism in order to justify the return of a people to 'their ancient land'.[69] The visual infrastructure founded by Western photographers thereby fulfilled an important function in strengthening such Biblical imagery. Accordingly, Palestinians were instrumentalised in photography to preserve the Biblical era, presented as emblems of an ancient Jewish life,[70] with the resulting images legitimating a Zionist expulsion and erasure (from both land and imagination) of the Palestinian presence. For example, Ephraim

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63 Ibid; Nir, *Beyerushlayim Ubeerets-Israel*,118; Nassar, *Photographing Jerusalem*, 36.

64 Woodward, "Between Orientalist Clichés," 363.

65 Yeshayahu Nir, "Reshit Hatsilum Berets-Israel," *Ariel* 66–67 (1989): 9–16.

66 Sometimes entitled as "Ruth and Boaz".

67 Dani Rabinowitz, *A'ntropologiya Ṿehafalasṭinim* (Ra'anana: Hamerkaz Leḥeker Hatarbut Ha'aravit, 1998).

68 Edward Said, Orientalism (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 192.

69 Ilan Pappé, "The Bible in the Service of Zionism, 'We do not Believe in God, but He Nonetheless Promised us Palestine'," in *The Bible, Zionism and Palestine: The Bible's Role in Conflict and Liberation in Israel-Palestine*, ed. Michael Sandford (Dunedin, New Zealand: Relegere Academic Press, 2007), 7; Finney, "Christian Zionism," 21; Nur Masalha, *The Bible and Zionism: Invented Traditions, Archaeology and Post-Colonialism in Palestine* (London & New York: Zed Books, 2007). Avi Rubin gives three examples – from Egypt, India and the Zionist movement – to the way Orientalism was inherent by Eastern elites, to construct nationalism: Avi Rubin, "Hamizrah Davar Ehad Vehama'rav Davar Aher", *Jama'a* 7 (2001): 72–4.

70 Sela, *Tsilum Befalastin*, 19–23; Rabinowitz, *A'ntropologiya Ṿehafalasṭinim*, 35–36.

Moses Lilien, a Jewish illustrator and member of the Zionist movement who co-founded the Bezalel Art School together with artist Boris Schatz, photographed local Palestinians, Samaritans and members of Jewish communities for a Biblical illustrations series.[71] Lilien visited Palestine several times for the project between 1906 and 1918, while also publishing a number of photographs in the press. One such image of a Palestinian man, 'Young Man in a White Keffiyeh' (1906), was used to illustrate the figure of Joshua (1908),[72] while the photograph 'Arab Riding a Donkey' was used to depict Balaam (1906).[73] Similarly effective was the trend at the time of staging 'exotic' studio portraits of Westerners or local Jews, dressed up in Palestinian clothing with Oriental-looking objects in the background; scenes which catered to Eurocentric fantasies of an enchanted Orient.[74] As Zionist writers and visual-creators looked to Palestine and its inhabitants through a prism crystalised in European Orientalist culture, 'Zionist art came to the Orient equipped with acquired blindness … and continued in this direction also after the authentic contact with him'.[75]

3 Photography in the Shadow of Conflict

3.1 *'Customs, Characters'*

Against this Western mode of imagination and knowledge production around the East and its attitude towards the local population, Raad devoted a considerable portion of his work to depicting the vibrant and productive lives of both rural and urban Palestinians (Figs 6.11, 6.12). His work captured sites and views around the country from a Palestinian perspective reflecting modernity's new social order while introducing 'a new style of representation'.[76] As an ethnographic photographer, he also devoted a major section of his work to

71 Micha Bar-Am, *Painting with Light: Photographic Aspects of the Work of Ephraim Mose Lilien* (Israel: Tel Aviv Museum of Art, 1991).

72 Ibid., 62–3. The image alluded also to figure of Theodor Herzl.

73 Ibid., 164–65. Lilien had contacts with Raad and may have been influenced by the latter. In a letter Lilien wrote to his wife (June 27, 1914) he told her that he was touring the country on a horse with a local guide and taking photographs to produce biblical illustrations. He then added that he would usually develop the plates after dinner with Raad, and by the time he washed them it was 11.00 p.m. and he would go to bed (Ruti Ofek, *E.M. Lilien Ha'man Hatsiyoni Harishon* (Tefen: The Open Museum, 1997), 160.

74 See, e.g. photos by Soskin in Sela, *Tsilum Befalastin*, 21–23.

75 Ariel Hirschfeld, "Qadima," in *To the East? To the East: Orientalism in the Arts in Israel*, eds. Yigal Zalmona and Tamar Manor-Fridman (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 1998), 14.

76 Woodward, "Between Orientalist Cliches," 373.

'Customs, Characters',[77] in which he dealt with a breadth of subjects, including education, professions, everyday family and communal life, culture, heritage and clothing (Figs 6.13 and 6.14).

Unlike the Orientalist 'figure studies' and 'types' that were staged by photographers to capture some 'hidden essence' of cultural mystique,[78] and colonialism's institutionalised 'scientific' classification of locals for purposes of domination,[79] Raad as an indigenous photographer established an autonomous gaze for his community (Figs 6.15 and 6.16).[80] Moreover, by contrast with his Palestinian colleagues who avoided photographing Zionist settlements, Raad sought to purposefully document and counter the Zionist colonisation process. Among his subjects were members of the Old Yishuv and the accelerating Zionist settlement of cities and rural locations.[81] When in 1914 Arthur Ruppin, director of the Palestine Office of the Zionist Organization, asked to buy hand-painted photographs for Zionist propaganda purposes, Raad avoided selling him such images.[82] Sections of his work were meanwhile devoted to documenting 'The Arab Struggle against Balfour Declaration Day',[83] the Nabī Mūsā procession (Fig. 6.17), the Palestinian demonstrations of 1928–9 and 1936–39 and Palestinian leaders such as Mufti Hājj Amīn al-Ḥusaynī.[84]
Researchers have thus asserted that 'Raad's work defies the obfuscating view of his Western counterparts, whose work, consciously or not, served the cause of

77 Raad, *1933 Catalogue*, 25; Sela, *Khalil Raad*, 239.

78 Gregory, "Emperors of the Gaze," 225.

79 Susan Slyomovics, "Visual Ethnography, Stereotypes and Photographing Algeria," in *Orientalism Revisited: Art, Land and Voyage*, ed. Ian Richard Netto (London: Routledge, 2013), 132–134.

80 These photographs were also published in Gustaf Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina* (Germany: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1964). He also presented Palestinian heritage exhibitions in his store, showing traditional Palestinian dresses, as discussed above, and documented the Samaritans.

81 Documenting various Zionist settlements, he accompanied George Davis, who describes how the 'famous Jerusalemite photographer' went with him, at his expense, in order to 'take photos that both he and we would like to save from this trip' (George Davis, Rebuilding Palestine According to Prophecy [USA: The Million Testaments Campaigns,1935], 19).

82 July 13, 1914; Central Zionist Archive, KKL3/29.

83 Raad, *1933 Catalogue*, 39; printed in Sela, *Khalil Raad*, 246.

84 He also documented the British occupation and Turkish surrender in WWI (1917). These images are important as, until recently, it was believed that only the American Colony photographers had documented the event (Ellie Shiler, "75 Shanim Lekibush Yerushalim Bidei Habritim (1917–1992)," *Ariel* 88 (1992): 63–4). I am grateful to Rachel Lev, American Colony's archivist, who shared with me the information about the documentation of the surrender.



FIGURE 6.13 *Native children of Banias*, undated. Chalil Raad. No. 745 in Raad's albums/ textual catalogue

colonialism and led to the fall of Palestine in 1948'.[85] Moreover, his production can be characterised as an individual and oppositional response to the complex realities of a time in which Western ideas, as well as the modern *Al-Nahda* knowledge production, were reified.

3.2 *The Holy Land*

Analysis of Raad's work reveals a continuous, resilient dialogue (both visual and textual) with the way the land was presented in the west. Raad's stationery from 1914, for example, bears the description 'Photographer of historical places in black, colour and sepia' and 'characters from the Land of the Bible'.[86] In 1920, he likewise marketed his work by stressing the country's Biblical history, with captions such as: 'A large Collection of Lantern photographs of Biblical and

85 Al-Hajj, "Khalil Raad – Jerusalem Photographer," 39. See also: Khalidi, *Before Their Diaspora*; Elias Sanbar, *Les Palestiniens, la photographie d'une terre et de son people de 1839 à nos jours* (Paris: Hazan, 2004); Tamari, "Khalil Raad (1854–1957)," 7–13; Tamari, "The War Photography of Khalil Raad."

86 Central Zionist archive, KKL3/29.



FIGURE 6.14 *Women of Ramallah embroidering*, undated. Chalil Raad. No. 285 in Raad's albums/textual catalogue



FIGURE 6.15 *Boy selling oranges*, undated. Chalil Raad. No. a269 in Raad's albums/textual catalogue

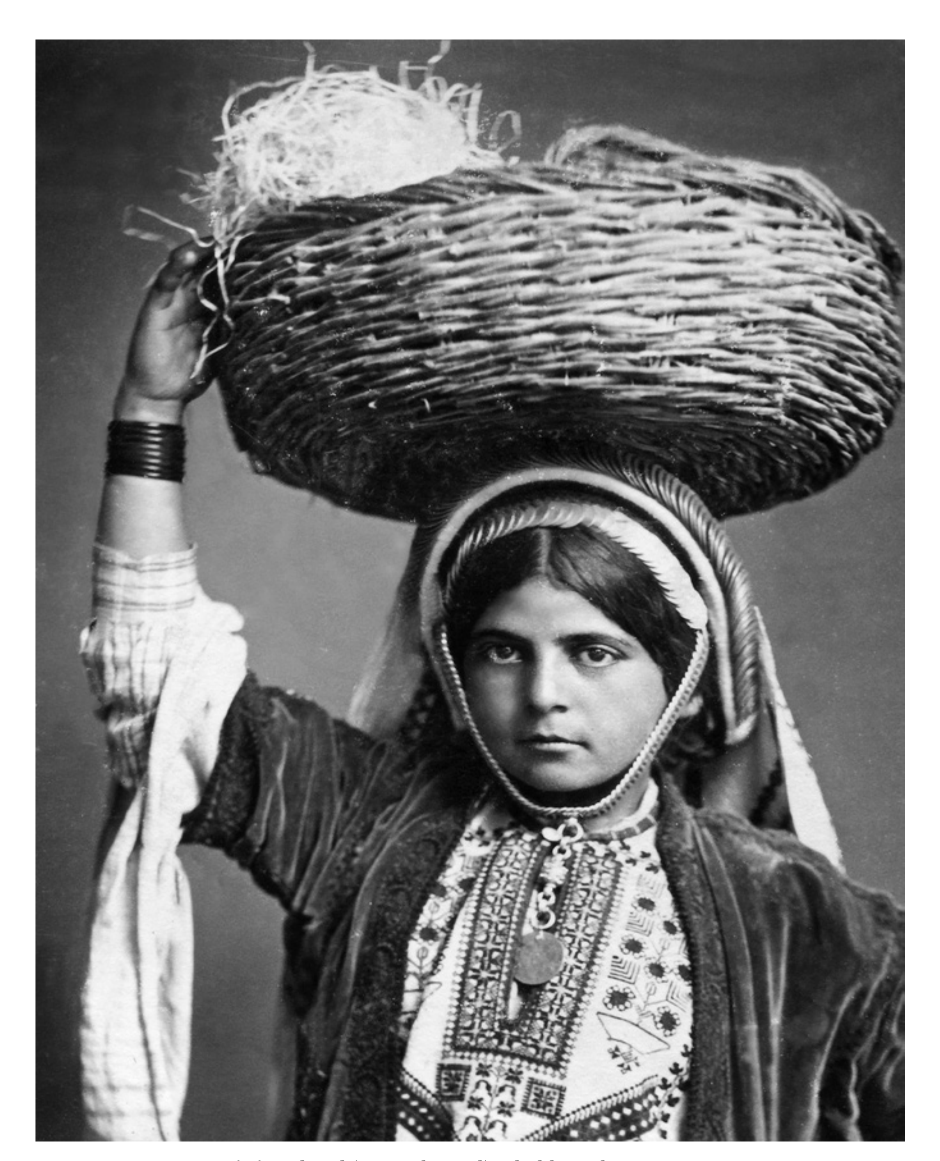


FIGURE 6.16 *Untitled*, undated (uncatalogued). Chalil Raad



FIGURE 6.17 *The Mufti leaving with the procession to Nabī Mūsā*, date unknown. Chalil Raad. No. a230 in Raad's albums/textual catalogue

Historical Places in Palestine and Syria' (Fig. 6.18). In doing so, Raad established 'stylistic and expressive patterns that were different from those brought by the European photographers but mimicked their familiar and institutional versions [...] similar to photography in other 'colonial countries'.[87]

Raad photographed sites mentioned in the New Testament, including the House of Simon the Tanner in Jaffa and the Inn of the Good Samaritan, as well as places symbolically associated with Christianity, such as a carpentry workshop in Nazareth, and girls from Bethlehem and Nazareth carrying babies (see Fig. 6.12). Other locations of Christian religious-historical significance regularly photographed by Raad included the Hall of the Last Supper and the Via Dolorosa with its stations of the cross, all of which were common icons in Western photography of the Holy Land. Moreover, Raad embellished some of his photos with texts from the New Testament, situating his images in a given religious-biblical context. For example, one photograph of a young Palestinian shepherd is entitled, 'Bringing back the Lost Sheep', alluding to: 'rejoice with

87 Translated from Hebrew. Nir, "Beyerushlayim Ubeerets-Israel," 100.



FIGURE 6.18 *The Palestine Directory*, 1920.

me; I have found my lost sheep' (*Luke* 15:6).[88] Another image is named 'Camel Looking through the Eye of a Needle' (see Fig. 6.11 above), invoking the lines, 'It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God' (*Matthew 19*: 24; KJV). Raad also photographed locations referred to in the Old Testament, including sites where Biblical figures lived or major events took place, such as a photograph of a Palestinian boy seated against the background of Zorah, with the caption 'Zorah, Samson's Home'; a Palestinian girl in a wheat field entitled 'Ruth the Gleaner' (Fig. 6.19); a photograph of Palestinian boys on the edge of a pit called, 'Joseph's Well, Dothan,' and 'Ahab's Well Near Jezreel'. The admiration garnered by such images was noted by Raad himself, as he claimed in a 1906 advertisement: 'Every day I receive thank-you letters […] particularly from people of European descent'.

3.3 *Biblical Archaeology*

Research has repeatedly shown how archaeologists were among the first to rally to the colonialist cause as the discipline developed in direct relation to imperialism and colonialism.[89] Derek Gregory highlights how ruins in

88 See also Sela, *Tsilum Befalastin*, 167–68.

89 Berg, "The Imperialist Lens," 10. See also Barromi-Perlman, "Archaeology, Zionism, and Photography in Palestine"; Jane Lydon and Uzma Rizvi, *Handbook of Postcolonial Archaeology* (Walnut Creek, CA: Routledge, 2010); Paul Lane, "Possibilities for a postcolonial archaeology in sub-Saharan Africa: indigenous and usable past," *World Archaeology* 43, no. 1 (2011): 7–25; Albert Glock, "Archaeology as Cultural Survival: The Future of the Palestinian Past," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 23, no. 3 (1994): 70–84.



FIGURE 6.19 *Ruth the gleaner*, undated. Chalil Raad. No. 656 in Raad's albums/textual catalogue

Egypt were stripped of the culture of the village and 'ordered as geometries, systematic arrangements of planes and surfaces that exposed the enduring structure of an ancient civilization'.[90] Archaeology remains strongly Eurocentric and thus, on a global scale, it privileges Western perspectives.[91] As such, the archaeology of Palestine has been dominated by a so-called 'Biblical archaeology'.[92] The monumental and archaeological imaginary focused mainly on ancient places, virtually empty of human inhabitation, a vacant space. So too, as research has underscored, archaeology was used as a cultural-nationalist practice in the struggle to construct a Zionist identity that associated ancient objects with national causes.[93] In fact, the science of archaeology in Palestine functioned (and in many ways continues to function) as a domain in which

90 Gregory, "Emperors of the Gaze," 224.
91 Lane, "Possibilities for a postcolonial archaeology," 8.
92 Glock, "Archaeology as Cultural Survival," 71.
93 Nadia Abu El-Haj, "Producing (Arti) Facts: Archaeology and Power during the British Mandate of Palestine," *Israel Studies* 7, no. 2 (2002): 33; Glock, "Archaeology as Cultural Survival," 71.

a colonial-cultural imagination is given form.[94] Historically, it enjoyed the status of a scientific practice, with the camera perceived as a positivist tool that created accurate, objective depictions of the world, 'serving as epistemic markers'.[95]

Raad accompanied many Western archaeological excavations, sometimes as an official employee and sometimes documenting them out of his own personal interest in archaeology and Biblical sites, and probably was influenced by these Western scholars.[96] As early as June 1902, Raad accompanied Peters and Thiersch in their exploration of the painted tombs in Maresha (in the Beit Guvrin area), photographing the Hellenistic frescoes. 'Under many difficulties, [he] obtained such excellent results',[97] despite the fact that there was not enough air inside the caves to ventilate the smoke created by the magnesium flashlight, making the air too dense to breathe after a shot or two.[98] David Jacobson argues that the importance of Raad's work in documenting the paintings from the third century BC lay in the fact that they were executed on soft limestone walls and were in danger of deterioration.[99] Furthermore, having joined the Badè Expedition at Tall Al- Naṣaba in 1927[100] and the Haverford expedition in the spring of 1928, his participation in Eliyahu Grant's expedition reflected his motivation to explore important Biblical sites, such as the ancient Beth Shemesh (Figs 6.20, 6.21).[101] Grant emphasised the British Mandate government's support for scientists and explorers eager to '[discover] the ancient

94 El-Haj, "Reflections on Archaeology and Israeli Settler-Nationhood," *Radical History Review* 86: 149–163.

95 Nadia Abu El-Haj, *Facts on the Ground: Archaeological Practice and Territorial Self-Fashioning in Israeli Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 2.

96 The textual catalogue indicates which excavation he accompanied.

97 John Peters and Hermann Thiersch, *Painted Tombs in the Necropolis of Marissa* (*Marêshah*) (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1905), xvii.

98 Ibid, 3.

99 David Jacobson, *The Hellenistic Paintings of Marisa, Palestine Exploration Fund* (London: Maney, 2007).

100 Raad also joined the Badè expedition excavating in Mispah (1926–35). He was not the official photographer of the excavations in Tell Al-Nasbeh (Chester Charlton McCown, *Tell En-Nasbeh Excavated under the Direction of The Late William Frederic Badè. Volume I, Archaeological and Historical Results* (Berkeley: Palestine Institute of Pacific School of Religion and the American Schools of Oriental Research, 1947), xi).

101 Raad indicated that the excavations were led by Grant (1928–1933); Raad, *1933 Catalogue,* 21; Sela, *Khalil Raad,* 237). See also, Elihu Grant, *Beth-Shemesh* (*Palestine*). *Progress of the Haverford Archaeological Expedition* (Haverford, PA: Biblical and Kindred Studies, 1929), 9. British archaeologist Duncan Mackenzie excavated there earlier (1911–12) for the Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF).

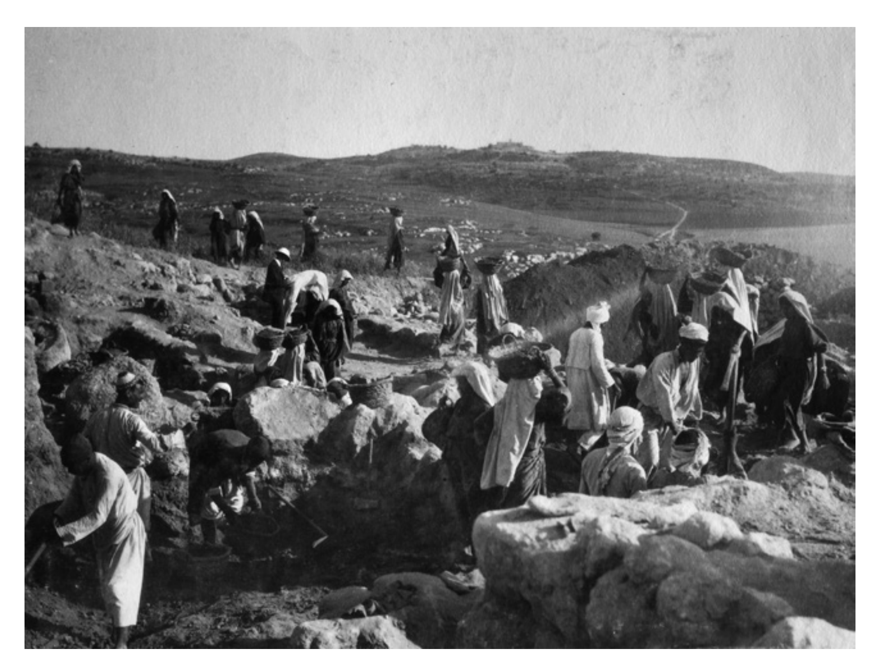


FIGURE 6.20 *Old Canaanite wall at Beith-Shems and women carrying baskets of debris*, c. 1928–1933. Chalil Raad. Excavation conducted by Dr. Grant, 1928–1933, No. a148 in Raad's albums/textual catalogue



FIGURE 6.21 *Washing and cleaning potshards* c. 1928–1933. Chalil Raad. Excavation conducted by Dr. Grant, 1928–1933, No. a144 in Raad's albums/textual catalogue)

Canaan'.[102] In this spirit, he also documented the remains of ancient Jewish settlements, such as the 'Excavations at Bethel of Jewish Period'; 'Excavations of Samaria at Jewish Period'; 'Tomb of Absalom'; and 'Rachel's Tomb'.[103] Glock argues that although Albright succeeded at Bayt Mirsim in developing new typological frameworks, the biblical connections remained, 'illuminating' the general historical background.[104] Raad also joined archaeological excavation expeditions to Mispah, Ashkelon, Jerusalem, al-Khalīl (Hebron, directed by Dr Madre), Tall Balāta and Nāblus (conducted in 1913–14 or 1926–27 by the Sellin expedition), Bayt-Mirsim (1926–32);[105] Beit She'an;[106] Megiddo (Majīdū);[107] Samaria (Harvard University, Fig. 6.22);[108] Bethel (1934); Mispah; and Ashkelon, as well as expeditions elsewhere in the Middle East. The names of the archaeological sites in Raad's catalogues are often written in Hebrew transliteration. The heritage and memory of the colonised land were expropriated from the indigenous population to be replaced with 'true heritage' and simulated into

102 Grant, *Beth Shemesh* (*Palestine*), 13.

103 All quotes referring to Raad's work are from Raad, *1933 Catalogue*, 3–55; Sela, *Khalil Raad*, 227–254. Particularly interesting is Photograph 326c, called 'Jewish Settlement at the Foot of Mount Gilboa Overlooking Gideon's Spring', connecting the Jewish past and present. The settlement is Kibbutz Ein Harod. Established in 1921, Raad probably photographed it not long afterwards, since it used to be located next to the spring, right below Mount Gilboa, as suggested in Raad's caption and seen in the photograph. A few years later, it moved to a nearby hill.

104 Glock, "Archaeology as Cultural Survival," 73.

105 William Albright, *The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim, Vol. II. The Bronze Age* (New Haven, CT: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1938).

106 Apparently by an expedition of the Pennsylvania Museum (1921–33) headed by Clarence Fisher, Alan Rowe and Gerald Fitzgerald. Although multiple photos are included in the book, it is not noted whether they have been taken by Raad. Gerald Fitzgerald, *Beth-Shean Excavations 1921–1923* (Philadelphia: The University Press, 1931).

107 Raad does not indicate in the visual albums which archaeological expedition he accompanied (by Gottlieb Schumacher in 1903–5, or by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago in 1925), as opposed to other cases where this information is provided. The albums do not include enough photos from these excavations to identify the expedition.

108 Raad, *1933 Catalogue*, 54; Sela, *Khalil Raad*, 254. Samaria was also excavated by two expeditions: the Harvard expedition (1908–10) and the Crowfoot expedition (1931–35). The findings of the first were published in a two-volume book that included detailed notes, photos, documents, illustrations, logs and information about the photographs, their development, cataloguing, etc. George Andrew Reisner, Stanley Clarence Fisher, and David Gordon Lyon, *Harvard Excavation at Samaria 1908–1910*, 1st volume (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1924), 45. Despite this richness of detail, the photographer/s is/are not mentioned by name.

Western culture.[109] This practice is reminiscent of the activities of French archaeologists in Tunisia for example, who portrayed themselves not only as 'protectors', but also excavators of heritage and history – that is, as creators of memory, fulfilling a fantasy of a lost world.[110]

While recording these excavations, their discoveries and the work of foreign archaeologists in order to expand the visual database about sites, Raad also documented vast numbers of Palestinian labourers (both men and women) at work, digging (see Fig. 6.20 above) or cleaning articles (see Fig. 6.21 above). Glock demonstrates how during the Mandate, 'Palestinian employees greatly outnumbered the others … by and large they served as guardians at sites around the country, museum guards and attendants, messengers, and cleaners. Only a fraction of the seventy-three Palestinians employed by the department held higher positions',[111] yet none of them was documented by Raad. Often, in fact, workers were occasionally used to model relations of height or size with artifacts that were central in the image,[112] with formal aspects employed in the service of constructing colonialist knowledge. For instance, Raad's images of the remains of the crusader church in Samaria with figures standing alongside (see Fig. 6.22 below) recalls the photographs and photographic strategies of the Bonfils in Samaria. Like his Western colleagues, Raad adopted some iconographic and thematic aspects in depicting archaeological and architectonic sites, ornaments and remains (such as the house of Martha and Mary and Capernaum) and photographed close-ups of structures with ornamental elements, indicating his dialogue with their work.

109 Yehoshua Ben-Arieh, "Hamosadot Hazarim Learchiologya Ṿelehakirat Erets-Israel Bitkufat Hamandat: Helek B," *Cathedra: For the History of Eretz Israel and Its Yishuv* 93 (1999): 136.

110 Annie E. Coombes, *Reinventing Africa: Museums, Material Culture and Popular Imagination in Late Victorian and Edwardian England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), 193.

111 Glock, "Archaeology as Cultural Survival," 75. Although most of them were connected to the western/British production of knowledge in their education or occupation before and during the Mandate, many focused on Palestinian cultural traditions (folklore, architecture and the social context of the village house). Ibid., 72–79.

Sarah Irving discusses the role of Yusif Khazin and Yusif Kanaan in PEF excavations that were employed in managing professional scientific work before and in the early British Mandate (Sarah Irving, "A Tale of Two Yusifs: Recovering Arab Agency in PEF Excavations 1890–1924," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 149, no. 3 (2017): 223–236.

112 Barromi-Perlman, "Archaeology, Zionism, and Photography in Palestine," 49–51.

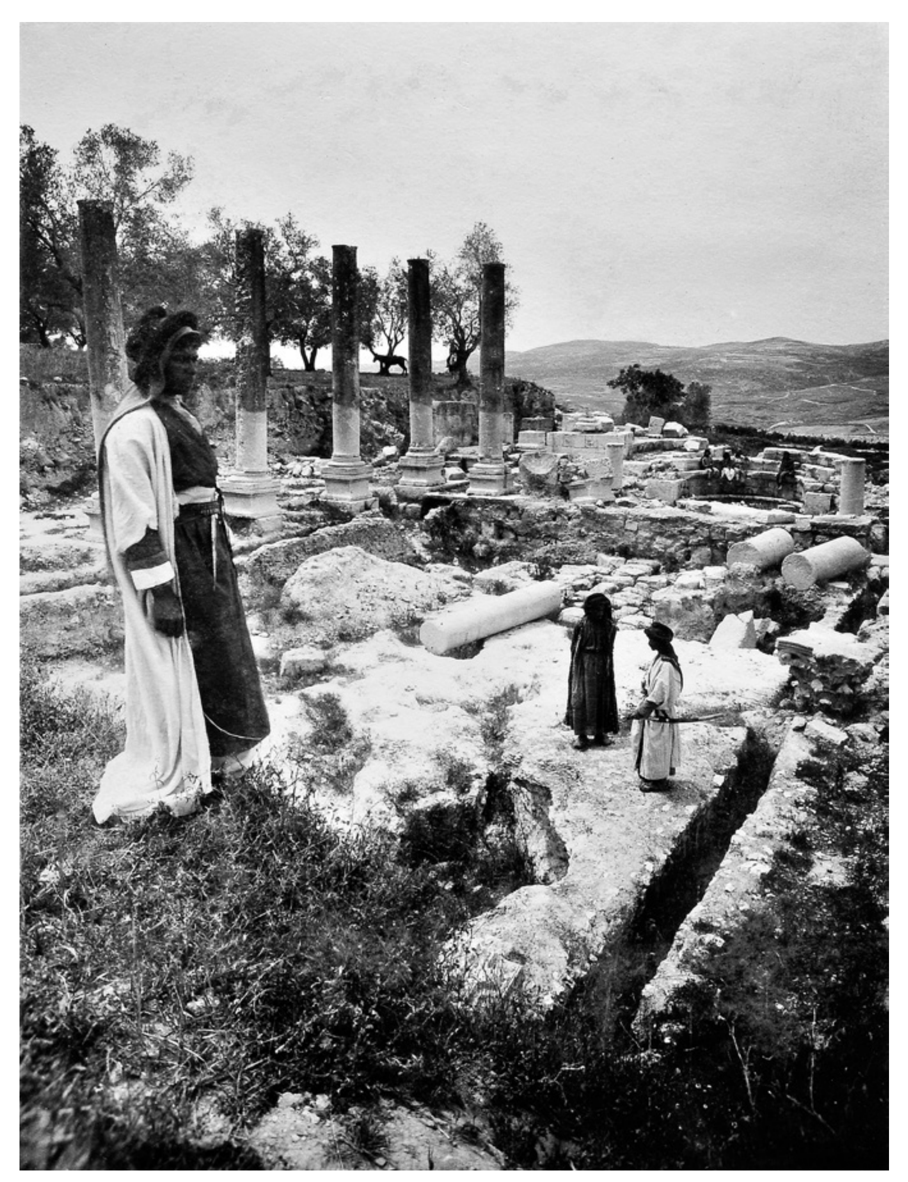


FIGURE 6.22 *Ruins of an old crusader in Samaria*. Chalil Raad. Excavation conducted by Prof. Sellin, 1913–1914 or 1926–1927, No. 317 in Raad's albums/textual catalogue

4 Resilient Resistance

Research has illuminated how indigenous photography constituted an oppositional locus or resistant iconography, characterised by the invention of a local practice which produced its own hybrid vocabulary. The Istanbul-based Sébah commercial photography studio, for instance, adapted several conventional European clichés, such as photographs of occupational types, to suit their 'self-visions' as 'modernising', while at the same time (especially with regard to community portraits), emphasising order and modernity within indigenous historical structures. This practice indicated a perspective that did not fit comfortably into the Orientalist mode.[113] In parallel, the construction of a modern middle-class subjectivity resulted in Iranian photography of the time being characterised by representation of lower class 'types' – in essence, a domestic Orientalist practice which mapped aspects of Western civilisational discourse onto Iranian social structures.[114] Stephen Sheehi, who discusses early Arab and especially Lebanese imago, shows too that the adoption of foreign practices and technologies was not a passive act but 'an ideological act by which non-Western subjects claimed ownership of modernity'.[115] In this regard, Avi Rubin shows that Orientalism was inherent in Ottoman discourse generated by the local population as a vehicle for inner criticism and change mobilisation.[116] Louise Bethlehem advocates reading beyond the narrow dialectics of 'oppression versus liberation'[117] as 'incomplete forms of resistance' or 'limited forms of emulation'.[118] Through developing a flexible, dual approach that sheds light on new sites of identity formation and protest,[119] hybridity may in this case be recast as subversion[120] or a mode of camouflage.[121] In other words, it can be argued that deceptive, multifaceted and sometimes contradictory features

113 Woodward, "Between Orientalist Clichés," 371–373. See also: Çelik, "Photographing Mundane Modernity"

114 Behdad, *Camera Orientalis*, 126.

115 Stephen Sheehi, "A Social History of Early Arab Photography or a Prolegomenon to an Archaeology of the Lebanese Imago of the Lebanese Imago," International Journal of Middle East Studies. 39 (2007): 178.

116 Rubin, "Hamizrah Davar Ehad Vehama'rav Davar Aher", 78.

117 Louise Bethlehem, "Likra't hibridiyut aheret," *Teoriya Ubiḳoret* 29 (2016): 193–204.

118 Ibid., 202.

119 Lila Abu-Lughod, "The Romance of Resistance: Tracing Transformations of Power through Bedouin Women," *American Anthropologist* 17, no. 1 (1990): 41–55.

120 David Jefferess, *Postcolonial Resistance: Culture, Liberation and Transformation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, Scholarly Publishing Division, 2008).

121 Homi K. Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," *October* 28, *Discipleship: A Special Issue on Psychoanalysis* (1984): 125–133.

form part of an obfuscation mechanism, a mask designed to wrap resistance. Accordingly, Raad's assimilation of one language into another may be read as a form of 'symbolic opposition'.[122] Rather than a binary, unidirectional process of liberation from Western patterns in favour of developing an independent indigenous culture, what unfolds is an alternative interactive process 'in order to improve the model's fit to the local country and 'culture''. In other words, the process is not static, but dynamic, multi-layered and replete with contradictions that stem from a colonial context.

This article evolves from and elaborates on extensive research into the power mechanisms of visual colonialism that contribute to an erasure of indigenous cultures. Most specifically, it examines how the work of Palestinian photographer Chalil Raad responds to and counters the destructiveness of colonialism.[123] As with other photographers and creators in the region, Raad's resistance was shaped in relation to the fictional Orientalist lens, while at the same time developing a unique autonomous gaze. On a reductive 'purist' or 'binary' level, it becomes clear that the language of Western colonialist photography has been internalised, 'inherent' and normalised in the local photographer's work. At the same time, Raad enabled the return of the voices of those who were silenced by colonialism. This article, however, proposes refocusing attention away from the indigenous practitioner's subjugation to colonial discourse toward the various strategies of resilient resistance that he or she may employ – among them appropriation, deconstruction, disruption, cross-referencing and reassembly. It thereby seeks to reformulate these practices through a wider lens that does not coalesce into mere oppositionality but highlights such a problematisation and seeks to address the complex relations at play. In a world of dualism and dialogue, this research shifts (together with Raad) between poles of representation and meaning. Raad's work may be difficult to wholly comprehend without discussing how Palestine's visual history has been (and is) written over more than a century of national conflict and in the service of conflicting political causes, be they Western, Zionist or Palestinian. This text articulates the struggle – which is still raging – for the image of the conflict, that is powerfully bound with its historical roots and against the colonial erasure of Palestinian historiography.

122 James Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1976), 84.
123 See also Sheehi, "A Social History of Early Arab Photography," 179.

In doing so, it considers (among other concerns) whether Raad in fact photographed archaeology as an anti-colonial or indigenous practice,[124] and how his work was 'shaped by indigenous knowledges'[125] that structured the decolonisation processes. Did he seek to challenge colonialist archaeology through a multi-faceted approach in order to construct an alternate conception of the past to that forged by Western archaeology?[126] It may be that Raad's work teaches us about other decolonised or different options of representation, interpretation and resistance that should be rethought. In the shadow of ongoing colonialism and oppression in Israel/Palestine, in the midst of an intractable conflict, and in view of the continued struggle against erasure, and for its visual aspects, its overt and covert layers and its competing political and ideological justifications and rationalisations, such questions remain open.

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124 Sonya Atalay, "Indigenous Archaeology as Decolonizing Practice," *The American Indian Quarterly* 30 (2006): 280–310; Lane, "Possibilities for a postcolonial archaeology."

125 C. Smith and H.M. Wobst, "The Next Step: An Archaeology for Social Justice," in *Indigenous Archaeologies: Decolonizing Theory and Practice*, eds. C. Smith and H.M. Wobst (London: Routledge, 2005), 394.

126 Bruce Trigger, "The History of African Archaeology in World Perspective," in *A History of African Archaeology*, eds. Peter Robertshaw and Bruce Trigger (London: James Currey, 1990), 309–19.

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